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The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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THE MENACE OF THE CONTROLLED
"WOMAN VOTE"

HOW SUFFRAGISTS DEFEAT
SUFFRAGE

THE PASSING OF AN EPIDEMIC
OF EMOTION

INDIFFERENCE OF WOMEN VOTERS

"YOU ARE JUST LIKE LITTLE
BELGIUM"

AMENITIES OF THE LAST
CAMPAIGN

ANTI-SUFFRAGE RED CROSS WORK

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE LIQUOR
INTERESTS

NOVEMBER
1914



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RESULTS OF SUFFRAGE VOTE IN SEVEN STATES

THE unofficial returns from the seven campaign states give the following majorities on the question of Woman Suffrage:

MISSOURI.....100,000 against.

OHIO.....201,000 against.

NEBRASKA.....11,500 against.

SOUTH DAKOTA.....9,000 against.

NORTH DAKOTA.....21,000 against.

MONTANA, ballot boxes sealed awaiting official count. NEVADA in favor, 2,000.

THE MENACE OF THE CONTROLLED "WOMAN VOTE"

THE controlled vote is the menace of the densely populated districts. That woman suffrage will add to this vote in overwhelming numbers is an anti-suffrage belief. An illustration of it is found in the recent election in California, a suffrage State, which defeated prohibition, November 3d.

We quote from Hearst's (suffrage) *San Francisco Examiner* of November 4:

"All the excitement during the day centered around the booths in the Barbary Coast district and those in the uptown tenderloin. McDonough Brothers, Frank Daroux, 'Red' Kelly, *et al.*, who control the Barbary Coast vote, were working tooth and nail to elect Dominick J. Behan State Senator, while Jim Coffroth and Johnny Crowley were working just as hard uptown for Gus Hartman.

"McDonough Brothers had several automobiles busy all day long hauling Barbary Coast dance hall girls and the inmates of houses on Commercial Street to the different booths, and always the women were supplied with a marked sample ballot.

"Coffroth and Crowley were not so generous uptown. They let the women walk.

"The strangest scenes of all possibly were those around the booth opposite the St. Francis Hotel on Union Square. It was there that all the guests of the St. Francis, the Stewart and other hotels in that neighborhood voted. There also voted many of the women of the night life, and that the strategic importance of this booth was realized by the two factions was evidenced by the fact that Gus Hartman occupied a soap box on one side of the street in front of this booth, while Frank Daroux sat across the sidewalk from him all day long.

"From remarks heard around the booths those women voting against prohibition were greatly in the preponderance, and many women voted on that measure alone."

It is thus seen once more why a Pacific Coast liquor organization declared: "*After careful investigation of the matter in suffrage States, we find we have NOTHING TO FEAR from the woman's vote.*" Surely these men must know whom to fear and why. Evidently they do not fear the Suffragists.

The usual outcry from Suffragists has followed their signal defeat in the West. The old scapegoat is again in evidence. "The Antis are allied with the liquor interests." A suffrage leader is reported to have said: "the Anti-Suffragists have spent thousands of dollars." If she refers to the woman's anti-suffrage organizations she is mistaken, as usual, for the very excellent reason that the Anti-Suffragists, as they know full well, did not have "thousands of dollars" to spend. Our cause was championed in Ohio by the most level-headed business men of the State, men who had no more to do with the liquor interests than the suffrage leader herself. How individual liquor dealers voted is no concern of ours, and we have no knowledge of their endeavors. We are thankful for the result anyway. It is an instance of the old saying that wrath shall be turned to praise. But if women are all going to vote against liquor, as is implied in this terror over their vote felt by the "liquor interests," how does it happen that California, with so many voting women, returns the State "wet" just now?

HOW SUFFRAGISTS HELPED DEFEAT SUFFRAGE

THE woman suffrage cause in the West was injured greatly by the suffrage speakers and their methods of campaigning. Perhaps we should credit them with having been our most valuable assistants. The final credit, of course, belongs to the people themselves.

In one of the press reports appears a comment on the "heroic struggle" of the women for the vote in certain of the States. Are not Anti-Suffragists entitled to some credit for our heroic efforts also? It was a case of one anti-suffrage campaigner to 100 suffrage talkers in every place visited. We had to travel fast and far to cover the territory and make up deficiencies in our speaking staff.

In most of the States where we campaigned we were facing suffrage organizations of many years' standing.

In Nebraska, for example, they have had a suffrage association for over a score of years. Ours was a recent creation. It was the same in the other States.

The suffrage cause was supported liberally with money. They

had advertisements, booths, speakers and workers everywhere. In North Dakota in the month of August alone they held 289 suffrage meetings, all of which required speakers and funds.

In Lancaster County in Nebraska on October 21 they had \$5,800 on hand for use in that county alone up to election day.

It is a rather striking statement to say that the methods and actions of the suffrage speakers helped to defeat their own cause, but we have reason for feeling full justification for that statement.

In St. Louis a justice of one of the courts declared that he had just been converted to our side. "I sat in my office today," he said, "and saw a woman talking for votes on the court house steps surrounded by a crowd of men; she gave every evidence of enjoying herself immensely. She fairly baited those men on to a demonstration, and there was hardly a cheap pleantry uttered, but she had her reply."

The first-hand statements as to conditions in the suffrage States went a long way to drive the lessons home.

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

NEUTRALITY IN POLITICS

IN presenting her report to the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs as Chairman of the Anti-Suffrage Committee, Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge said in part:

"Our neutrality as a nation is more important to-day than ever before in the history of our country. There has never been a time since the organization of women's clubs in this country when neutrality on all political questions was so essential to the harmonious work of women. These are sobering days and the distinctive and disinterested work of women will be more than ever needed to help secure the continuance of peace in our country and the alleviation of suffering and misery abroad.

"The splendid record of the work accomplished by this Federation stands as testimony to the efficiency of women working as an undivided body to promote the public welfare. If the future record is to be worthy of our traditions, we must lay aside partisanship, steer clear of dissensions and thus maintain our integrity as a body of informed citizens working as a unit in educational and philanthropic undertakings. Other organizations may well carry on political work. The legitimate interests of our Federation work are to-day subordinated in too many instances to the discussion of the politics of suffrage, in which there is a serious and honest difference of opinion among women of intelligence and high moral purpose.

"Let the Federation remain out of politics and, removed from partisan and sectarian discord, continue its work of a disinterested public service."

WHY ILLINOIS WOMEN DID NOT VOTE

IN an article elsewhere in this issue it is brought out that a smaller number of Chicago women took the trouble to register this fall than registered for the spring election. It is shown that less than two-thirds of those who registered this fall took the trouble to "drop a piece of paper into a box" on election day, November 3.

The Suffragists explain, or excuse, this bad showing by saying: "Women were not permitted to vote for the more important issues."

We find they were permitted to vote for the public officials in charge of sanitation, education, local justice, assessing taxes, the hospitals, the asylums, the poor house, homes for the crippled and homes for the aged.

Are we mistaken, or have we really heard suffrage orators declare that these are primarily women's interests; that it is these phases of "municipal housekeeping" for which they are infinitely better fitted than men.

And yet despite the most energetic measures on the part of Suffragists only 76 per cent. as many women registered this fall as registered in the spring and only 65 per cent. of this

76 per cent. voted for the men who will supervise those municipal and State affairs for which, Suffragists say, "women demand the vote."

This is most illuminating to those who see in woman suffrage the cure for municipal corruption. Corruption can be cured only by elevating the standards of the people as a whole; it can never be cured by doubling the electorate.

It is interesting to note that women voted as partisans practically as the men voted. In the election of appellate clerk 44 per cent. of the men and 43 per cent. of the women voted the Democratic ticket; 40 per cent. of the men and 39 per cent. of the women voted the Republican ticket; 16 per cent. of the men and 18 per cent. of the women voted the Progressive ticket.

The whole matter only goes to show what well-informed people in suffrage States already know: that "doubling the electorate" merely adds to the number of voters and to the election expense without changing the final result for the better, and that the majority of women do not want the vote and do not use it when it is forced upon them.

THE ELECTIONS IN THE WEST

THE election of November 3, 1914, has passed into history. The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage congratulates the country and the several States where suffrage was defeated for the splendid results achieved. We feel that this election has been the greatest vindication of the principles of our organization so far accomplished in the history of the opposition movement.

Out of seven States where the question of woman suffrage came before the electorate, five defeated it overwhelmingly, one State, Nevada, the smallest in population and in the per cent. of women, has evidently been carried by the Suffragists, while Montana is still in doubt, and only the official count will determine the result. In Nevada the Socialist vote was over 5,000, the Mormon vote more than 1,000, probably 6,500 votes in all out of a total vote of 20,000, or nearly one-third of the entire vote. These votes were, of course, delivered in a block to the suffrage cause.

One feature of the result is especially gratifying. The Suffragists secured no State East of the Rockies, they have captured no territory in which the home wields the influence that it wields generally in the more populous States. Even in Nevada in the larger towns where homes were most numerous suffrage was defeated nearly two to one; the exceptions were the mining centers of Goldfield and Tonopah, where the Socialist vote was exceptionally strong. Out in the mining camps, where there were no women, particularly the small and isolated camps, the vote was practically unanimous in favor of suffrage. This is a confirmation of the contention of the Anti-Suffragists that women do not want the ballot.

Many newspapers have commented on the defeat of suffrage in direct proportion to the increase in density of the population and experience in government, but none have so far pointed out that the defeat of suffrage was also directly proportionate to the preponderance of the feminine element in the population.

Nevada, where suffrage carried, has 179 men to every 100 women, the highest ratio in the United States. Missouri, where woman suffrage was decisively defeated, has only 105 men to every 100 women, and Ohio, which literally swamped suffrage a second time in two years at the polls, only 104 men to 100 women.

Montana, where the contest is very close, has 152 men to 100 women, the third highest ratio in the United States, the second being Wyoming, where women have voted for forty-five years, and the attractions of the franchise are so few that only 100 women live there to every 168 men. On the other hand, Nebraska and the two Dakotas, which also defeated woman suffrage, have 111, 118 and 122 men, respectively, to every 100 women.

Suffrage was most overwhelmingly defeated where the most women were consulted.

THE PASSING OF AN EPIDEMIC OF EMOTION

By MRS. GEORGE P. WHITE

Chairman, Organizing Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

AS Senator Edmonds of Vermont remarked, "human history and experience teach that things go round in cycles. Radical doctrines are merely a sign of the times. Some day there will be a further swing round the cycle, and then you will see a change." The ex-Senator was 86 when he made this declaration last June, at which time he said the country's troubles were chiefly due to an "epidemic of emotion."

At that time the European war was considered an impossibility, the militants were burning churches and hunger striking in England, and the Socialists were trying to carry out the "general strike" in Italy and Russia. The climax of the "epidemic of emotion" that waged civil war in Colorado, blew up anarchists with their own bombs in New York, and caused English militants to indulge in drugs to keep up the hysterical excitement of their agitation, was reached when a young Serbian assassin shot the Austrian arch-duke and his wife on June 28th.

America never could have assumed its present place and greatness had not the Civil War decided that our forty-eight commonwealths must belong to one union under one flag. Therefore, pessimism about the present titanic struggle in Europe is not warranted by history, and Europe may repeat the cycle of the United States, and become one great free country like our own after all the big and little monarchies and republics find that there is peace and security only in union—and strength.

Now it is striking and significant that nearly every great issue and form of government has been decided by force and on the field of battle, and not by "dropping a piece of paper in a ballot box," as the Suffragists say. The North could have voted against the secession of the South, but bullets instead of ballots decided the issue at Gettysburg. Likewise, all France might have voted against its present invasion, but it will be the caliber of cannon and the fighting ability of its men that determines its final ability to vote on anything.

A suffrage writer recently declared that the service women are now rendering in Europe ought to still forever "the anti-suffrage argument that women should not vote because they cannot serve in war." If any such anti-suffrage argument was ever made, it has escaped the knowledge of any Anti-Suffragist I know. The proposition that women do not serve in war unless they join firing lines is a suffrage fiction on a par with the proposition that a woman is not a citizen unless she votes. The trouble is that the Suffragists want to serve, both in war and government, EXACTLY THE SAME AS MEN DO. When the Mexican imbroglio was on some of the Suffragists of Colorado said they would raise a regiment for service over the Rio Grande—but when the State started civil war in the mining districts of their own commonwealth they appealed to an outside authority for Federal soldiers—who have had to remain there ever since. Likewise, the militants of England have recently been trying to organize a volunteer rifle corps of women to take part in the war—but it is unlikely that they will ever join the line of battle, for even the militants have sense enough left to perceive the folly of advocating "equality" for women under gunfire. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, editor of the suffrage organ *Votes for Women*, declares: "The moral immunity of all women in civilized nations from the terrible duty of organized murder is too great a boon to the whole world to be placed in jeopardy. The recognition of women as non-combatants is the one area of sanctuary redeemed from the field of universal slaughter." In commenting on this, an American suffrage writer fully indorses its truth. "It is indeed true," she says, "that if women were placed in the ranks to kill and be killed the demoralization of the nations would be

complete, and it would be better for the world to relapse into the chaos from which it emerged."

And yet the women have succeeded in remaining away from firing lines in most of the wars of history. How? By ballots? By demanding absolute "equality" in everything? No, but by the moral influence that safeguards women where the lives of men count for nothing, the same old "indirect" influence that the Suffragists laugh at. They believe a woman without a vote is helpless. They call her a "slave." And yet it is not the women who are drafted into armies and made to fight each other, but the men, the voters. This would indicate that woman's service in war is far greater than man's, for she not only succeeds in keeping herself and children out of the fray, but she helps to alleviate the sufferings of men, to nurse the wounded and do the necessary work to preserve civilization, while the soldier, the real war "slave," does the active fighting.

The Suffragists don't want to join the firing lines. Oh, no! they prefer the "moral immunity" from the "terrible duty" of serving as soldiers—but they wish to do the voting that expresses opinions they are not able to defend. They want the so-called "human right" to vote on every question that arises in government. The "one man one vote" principle at the bottom of democratic government, built on the historical experience that "one man is one gun" in war, they want to translate into "women demand the ballot," but refuse to face the bullet.

That the logical feminists see the relation between politics and war is shown in Allen L. Benson, the Socialist-Suffragist's recent contention that "if a woman votes to send a man to the cannon's mouth she should go with him." And the Suffragists say that "the women voting to do this would not make a corporal's guard."

If 1200 men voted for a principle they consider vital, and 600 men and 1000 women voted against it, how could the majority enforce its opinion? The 1600 men and women could not meet the 1200 men in battle and win, and yet if the 1000 women all voted for the measure the 600 men have to defend, would they not logically and morally be bound to join them in the contest? But supposing the 1000 women do not vote and do not fight, is it not true that they not only escape a useless burden that would not make any difference in the decision, but they preserve their own status as non-combatants and non-partisans? And if they cannot preserve peace, they can at least modify war, make the victor kinder to the vanquished—and keep themselves and children out of battles and bloodshed. Why does not Mrs. Pethick Lawrence see further than her fingers, and, by putting the words "political war" in her sentence, make it represent a recognized and universal truth? Then she would say: "The moral immunity of all women in civilized nations from the terrible duty of organized murder and political war is too great a boon to the whole world to be placed in jeopardy"; and the Anti-Suffragists would piously add "by woman suffrage."

Is there anything more significant than the fact that the Colorado women—who have voted 21 years—and the English militants—whose war-like campaigns are history—are the only women who have proposed women regiments? Of course, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw says she would like to be a policeman. Other feminists would like to be everything, from bootblacks to President, rather than what nature made them, namely, women. A "policeman" in skirts would have rather a nice time persuading desperate criminals to go to jail, would she not? One of them in Chicago recently threatened to resign unless the captain of the district had her escorted home by a man when she was on duty after dark! And when they attempted to arrest strik-

ing waitresses last spring, the women "cops" had to be removed by the chief of police to prevent riot "a la Pankhurst."

How many women who live in Western States have seen the sheriff come around with a list of registered voters in order to collect a posse to capture outlaws? How many women want to get on such a list? How many want to serve on juries, or to be called upon by policemen to assist in arresting criminals?

Yes, there are a few—and they all heartily believe in "votes for women." The kind of woman who wants to become a politician and a policeman wants to be everything a man is—except a soldier. But where is she going to draw the line? The line at the polls is an emblem of the firing line. It is the proper place to designate the difference in duties and responsibilities that exist between man and woman.

And it is the only chance the world has for peace. Militarism, despotism and socialism have all proved unable to preserve peace in the hands of men who have votes and arms

both. Likewise, militancy, discontent and suffrage agitation will forever prevent women from attaining the unity, moral influence and non-partisanship that alone can guarantee permanent peace.

But we are swinging round the cycle. Militancy is dead. Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., an ardent former champion of the cause, told us after the outrages in June that the suffrage question "is as dead as Queen Anne. There is not now a single member of the House of Commons who has the heart to take it up." And in the midst of the war the militantism has almost been buried. Their own leaders declare it can never occur again.

And in America the Suffragists have also over-reached themselves. The recent blacklist of able Senators and Representatives coming on top of an attack on the Democratic party and a constant annoyance of President Wilson was the last thing needed to turn many of the States which have just voted on the question against "votes for women."

GROWING INDIFFERENCE OF CHICAGO'S WOMEN "VOTERS"

DO Chicago women view with favor the tactics of the female politician, and do they all rush out to vote at the slightest provocation?

"Of course," says the stranger-at-a-distance, inquiring naively, "Isn't Chicago in a suffrage State? And aren't all women there now Suffragists?"

To this the writer can only respond: "You do not know that the majority of the women of Illinois did not want the vote, but had it imposed upon them by as devious a political maneuver as the deepest-dyed male politician ever conceived and executed in the dark."

"Oh, but see the registration figures!" exclaims our stranger-at-a-distance. "See how Chicago women responded to the very first registration call." And picking up a copy of *The Survey* for April 18, 1914, she read to us: "Illinois and Chicago give the country the most significant test of women's voting. The local elections held April 7 are recognized to be epoch-making throughout the State and city. The possibility of increasing the electorate by over a million and a half women voters in the State and by nearly half a million in Chicago was anticipated. * * * As registration is required only in larger places, the figures for the State cannot be given at this writing, but in Chicago 217,614 women registered at their first opportunities. Added to the 455,283 men on the polling lists, these new voters increased the electorate to 672,897 voters, the largest number registered in any city in the United States. * * * At the election the women polled at the lowest count before the official revision 158,686, or 73 per cent. of their registered voters, while the men's votes numbered 328,987, or 72 per cent. of their registrations. This is conceded by all concerned to be a very favorable showing for the women at their first registration and election."

"Yes, that was a splendid showing," we agreed, and added interrogatively, "but they must have made an even better showing this fall when the issues are more important and their interest keener."

The stranger-at-a-distance didn't know but thought so.

We decided to investigate.

We found that only 76 per cent. as many Chicago women registered for the election on November 5 as registered for the spring election.

What was the cause? Were women less interested in voting? Was the fad passing? Or were the aggressive suffrage organizations who "got out the vote" in the spring less aggressive this fall?

We got some files of a leading Chicago paper, *The Tribune*, and we discovered the following, which we clipped therefrom:

(From *The Chicago Tribune*, October 3, 1914)

Considerable interest was manifested by the party chiefs in the probable registration of women voters to-day. While the women have shown an interest equal, by comparison, to that of the men in former registrations, there was a general feeling that the women would make a relatively better showing to-day than the men.

This estimate was based on the large number of officials for whom the women can vote in November, and particularly their opportunity to vote for candidates for the county board.

Women who are enrolled on the books to-day and October 13 will be eligible to vote for the following officials:

President of the county board.

Fifteen county commissioners, ten from the city and five from the country districts.

Two members of the board of assessors.

One member board of review.

Three sanitary district trustees.

Eleven Municipal court judges.

Appellate court clerk (Cook County district).

Three State university trustees.

(From *The Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 1914)

Party leaders took a more hopeful view of the registration situation yesterday after analyzing Saturday's figures.

In view of the interest in the European war, a lack of publicity in the brief campaign since the primary, and a general "tired" feeling so soon after the primary scrap, the leaders thought the enrolling of nearly 50 per cent. of the man vote was a fairly good showing after all. The women failed to come up to expectations, enrolling only one-third of their registration made prior to the primary.

Of the 207,170 names of women on the old books only 70,191 were re-enrolled on Saturday, leaving 136,979 to be registered on the 13th, if the former figures are to be equaled. Suffrage leaders are of the opinion they will exceed the former total when the canvass is ended.

(From *The Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1914)

The totals for the first day of registration, which show that 48 per cent. of the male voters put their names back on the books, as opposed to only 33 per cent. of the women, do not discourage the leaders. They declare that the house to house canvass now going on was intentionally postponed until after the first day and that the number of women who will register a week from yesterday will astonish everybody.

(From the Chicago Tribune, Oct. 8, 1914)

The women will put out 80,000 posters, or about fifty to a precinct in Chicago. They will be distributed by neighborhood groups, tacked to trees, hung on clothes lines and pasted on fences, sidewalks and billboards.

The climax will be reached Saturday, when the women will go forth in all sections to shout registration at everybody.

(From the Chicago Tribune, Oct. 8, 1914)

The women voted to start an active campaign to get a large registration of women on October 13th. A committee, consisting of Mrs. Grace Wilbur Trout, president of the State Equal Suffrage Association; Mrs. George Bass and Miss Margaret Dobyne was appointed to arrange for a plan of reaching the women of Chicago before October 13th. It was decided to use newspaper advertising.

An Anti-Suffragist at one of the hotels sent a messenger for a sample card which was being distributed generously by this same association, urging registration. The boy came back staggering under a load of five thousand cards "to distribute."

Yes, the Suffragists were aggressive enough.

But the women were indifferent; 86 per cent. of the men who registered in the spring registered this fall, as against 76 per cent. of the women.

The official figures are as follows: 394,015 men registered and

166,277 women registered for the November election as opposed to 455,283 men and 217,614 women at the spring registration.

One woman voter was stirred to action. We read:

(From the Chicago Tribune, Oct. 8, 1914)

It was at one of the scores of non-partisan political meetings which are being held in schoolhouses all over the city especially for the benefit of the new women voters.

An old Irishwoman drifted into the schoolhouse just as the meeting was over. She sniffed a bit indignantly.

"Sure, what's all this fuss about, annyhow?" she asked of one of the women workers. "What for does us ladies want to be sticking our noses into politics for—that's what I'd like to know?"

"I can't tell you all about it," was the answer, "but I can tell you something about it. The board of county commissioners has charge of all the sick and the old and the consumptive poor people in Chicago.

"They run the hospitals and the asylums and the homes for people who are not able to take care of themselves. Don't you think that women should be interested in seeing that good and honest men are elected to look after the very old and the poverty-stricken and the sick and the crippled?"

The old Irishwoman straightened up. "The poor, poor things!" she said. "We ought to give them the best there is. Now I understand about it, I understand all about it, and it'll be me voting in November to make sure that the poor things get decent treatment."

Election in Illinois Shows the Handwriting on the Wall

Since this article was written the election has been held and the exact showing of the women in Chicago is known. We quote the *Chicago Tribune* (Suffrage) of November 5, 1914:

"Approximately 65 per cent. of the registered women voters of Chicago went to the polls on Tuesday. This is considerably under the percentage of registered male voters who cast ballots. About 8000 more women voted in the country towns.

"The number of women voting in Cook County was 116,580, basing the figures on the vote of the women for board of assessors. In Chicago alone the vote of the women was 108,845. The registration of women was 166,560.

"There were 104,641 women voting on the Republican, Demo-

cratic and Progressive tickets for clerk of the Appellate Court. A comparison of the number of men and women voting for the office follows:

	Women	Men
McInerney (D.).....	45,178	125,117
Catlin (R.).....	41,860	113,862
Boening (P.).....	17,603	42,472
Totals.....	104,641	281,451

"Suffragists expected a larger percentage of the women who had registered to vote. They gave as the excuse for no more women voting the fact that the women were not permitted to vote for the more important issues."

"I PITY YOU—YOU ARE JUST LIKE LITTLE BELGIUM"

MRS. FRANKLIN P. IAMS, a Suffragist, in addressing the Convention of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women at Pittsburgh in favor of a peculiar suffrage resolution, said: "I have found in many years' experience in trying to secure legislation that no methods are effective but those of the astute politician."

What Mrs. Iams meant by "astute" was revealed a few minutes later when a majority of the delegates, all Suffragists, voted for a resolution that was known by them to be drawn in direct violation of the organization's charter.

Is this the proclaimed "purification of politics" which will ensue when Suffragists get the vote?

The resolution follows:

"Whereas, A resolution designed to express the belief of this federation in relation to the enfranchisement of women should come as a natural sequence to the resolutions passed in previous years, namely, at Scranton in 1910, and Swarthmore in 1913; and

"Whereas, Most of the delegates to the present session of the State Federation of Women's Clubs have come to this convention uninstructed by their clubs, on the subject of woman's suffrage following the action of the General Federation of Women's Clubs taken at its last meeting, be it

"Resolved, That the delegates here present give the cause of political equality for men and women their moral support by recording their earnest belief in the principles of political equality regardless of sex."

Late in the afternoon session Mrs. Samuel A. Ammon presented a resolution of protest against the morning action, signed by Mrs. Horace Bock, Mrs. J. H. Reed, Mrs. John Brown Heron, Miss Eliza D. Armstrong, Mrs. Winslow Crannell, Miss Emmeline Pitt, Mrs. T. C. Clifford, Mrs. Ammon, Mrs. G. C. Burgwin and Mrs. E. B. Fineke. This resolution is as follows:

"Whereas, The delegates to the State Federation of Women's Clubs, who voted in opposition to the resolution presented at this morning's session called for an expression of opinion by delegates as individuals, realize that such a resolution is contrary to our constitution, because this is not an institution of individuals as such. It is a federation of societies, as Article 3 clearly indicates, and the delegates here are not acting in the capacity of individuals but as representatives of their respective clubs, and they, therefore, cannot do what their clubs, who are the real members of this body, are prohibited from doing; and,

"Whereas, The language of Article 2 clearly classifies the live political subject presented in the resolution regarding the granting of suffrage to women for the manifest reason that all cannot endorse it. Had there not been a single voice instead of many, raised against the promotion or endorsement of this

measure it would have been sufficient to render such a resolution out of order. Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we protest against said resolution."

This protest was, on vote of the meeting, placed on the minutes of the federation.

Mrs. Horace Brock, a former president of the federation, opened the fight against the suffrage resolution, attacking the report of Mrs. William I. Hull, chairman of the suffrage committee of the federation, which recommended the endorsement of suffrage. She carried a handbag, which she reported contained the best of legal advice to the effect that such an endorsement would be contrary to the constitution of the federation.

In a report for the Philadelphia *Ledger*, Mrs. Brock wrote: "I pity you—you are just like little Belgium," said a prominent suffrage delegate to a delegate who sat next her at the recent Pittsburgh convention of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women. The situation could not have been better expressed. It was wrong and unconstitutional to pass any resolution on suffrage, but the Suffragists said necessity required it. Again and again their speakers dwelt upon the necessity of passing the resolution at this critical time. The day before action was taken, when a member of the board was asked why they did not change the constitution and do the thing legally, replied: "That would delay it for another year; we must do it now to impress the Legislature." No doubt it will impress the Legislature, but not in the way it was intended.

That these tactics are not confined to Pennsylvania Suffragists has been revealed many times before. As long ago as the putting through of the Illinois suffrage action, in the dark, and as recently as in September in Nevada, these "purifying methods" have cropped out in suffrage activities.

We quote from the leading Nevada newspaper (from *The Reno Gazette*, September 25, 1914):

Through the insertion of a joker in the report of the committee on legislation, and hurried action in rushing through the adoption of the report by the Nevada Federation of Women's Clubs, the Suffragists delegates at the State convention this afternoon secured what they claim is an endorsement of the suffrage amendment that comes before the voters at the November election.

Having an intimation that the question of endorsing women's suffrage would come before the convention this afternoon, opponents of the amendment made special efforts to attend in order to express their opposition.

The Suffragists, however, avoided coming to a direct issue by cleverly wording the report of the legislative work of the women's clubs of the State. They incorporated in the report a clause recommending that "work be continued" on features endorsed a year ago as proper subjects for legislative work. In the rapid reading of the report by Miss Bird Wilson of Goldfield, the delegates opposed to women's suffrage did not recognize the joker. The almost instantaneous motion and second for the adoption of the report, followed by a quick vote, resulted in the usual chorus of ayes, followed by silence. Shortly after the vote was taken one of the delegates opposed to votes for women said with a sigh:

"Well, I suppose we will have to neglect our Saturday baking to-morrow morning and come here to oppose an endorsement of women's suffrage, as apparently the subject is not going to come up this afternoon."

On the following day efforts were made, in vain, to pass a vote of reconsideration.

We again quote (from *The Reno Gazette*, September 26):

After a call for the order of the day, a vote was required as to whether the federation president, Mrs. Patrick, should be permitted to explain the meaning of the legislative committee's report. It carried and Mrs. Patrick made the explanation.

"Does that mean," asked a delegate, "that we have endorsed equal suffrage?"

"No, it does not," said Mrs. Patrick.

"The president of the equal franchise society said it did mean the endorsement of suffrage," the delegate replied.

"And I say now that the federation has not indorsed equal suffrage," declared Mrs. Patrick. "The adoption of the report simply accepted the report of last year's work."

One of the suffrage delegates then made a remark that a personal opinion of the meaning of the resolution could not be accepted and a proposal then carried to have the report printed in full and distributed to the convention delegates. Miss Wilson urged that this be done, saying that she could stand newspaper criticism, but that she possessed no armor that would ward off a personal attack.

Miss Martin, rising to a question of personal privilege, declared she had not said that the federation had endorsed suffrage, but that the federation had, by accepting the report, directed the incoming legislative committee to take action to further the success of the above-mentioned measures (including equal suffrage).

This subterfuge, worthy of an old-time ward politician in "the good old days," was commented upon editorially by *The Reno Gazette*, which said:

"It didn't take the Suffragettes very long to learn the uses of the steam roller. The one constructed in Chicago in 1908 and put in commission for the second time in 1912 was a very gentle, harmless and painless instrument compared with the one used by the Nevada Suffragettes."

Perhaps it was a similar discovery by the women's Clubs that led the Southern California Federation of Women's Clubs to pass the following resolution after three years' experience with woman suffrage and Suffragists:

"Resolved, That we protest against using the influence and agencies of State and District Federation to further partisan and political interests, and that we work for the moral and educational movements on which women stand practically united."

In North Dakota the "steam-roller" methods were also actively practised. A correspondent present at the convention writes:

"The Convention of the Federation of Clubs was packed from beginning to end, as was expected, and the suffrage resolution adopted by the General Federation was recommended by the Committee and adopted. However, upon a demand for a roll call the delegates were placed on record, many of them voting contrary to the instructions of their clubs. The delegates were made up of the leading Suffragists of the State.

"As soon as the constitutionality of the resolution was raised, the Suffragists moved the previous question, thus barring debate, and adopted the resolution by the steam-roller method. Such an action places them in the position of having railroaded the resolution through, which is political purification, is it not?"

NINETEEN QUESTIONS FOR SUFFRAGISTS TO ANSWER

NINETEEN pertinent questions were addressed to the suffrage speakers who closed the "whirlwind campaign week" by four meetings at the City Hall Plaza in Philadelphia the last week in October. An official statement signed by Mrs. Horace Brock, president, and Mrs. J. Gardner Cassatt, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, who asked the questions, declares that the Philadelphia public deserves a straight answer, and suggests that the newspapers, as non-partisans, secure them from the Suffragists.

The statement in full follows:

HEADQUARTERS, PENNSYLVANIA SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION:

In fairness to the public, and in order to extend an accurate knowledge of just what woman suffrage may be expected to do in view of its past record, the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage invites your speakers to answer the following questions, and to give a clear explanation of the following facts and figures:

1. Why is it that after 65 years of constant agitation, the woman suffrage cause is opposed by women themselves more vigorously than ever?

2. Why is woman suffrage the only movement among women that has excited against itself an organized national and State opposition from other women?

3. As the census report on occupations issued June 20, 1914, shows only 8,075,772 feminine workers over ten years of age in the United States, why do Suffragists claim that "eight million women workers demand the ballot"?

4. The National American Woman Suffrage Association claimed a membership of "about 650,000" in June, 1914. The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, the National's rival, claimed 4,000 members about the same time. This makes 654,000 Suffragists in America, which is less than one-twelfth the 8,000,000 feminine workers, less than one-half the total number of women enfranchised in the nine full suffrage States (1,998,163 according to the census) and only 2.7 per cent. of the women over 21 in America. Why have 97 women out of every 100 rejected woman suffrage for 65 years, and why do less than half the enfranchised women approve their own "emancipation" and less than one-twelfth the women workers believe in "votes for women"?

5. Since the census figures show 4,338,337 of the feminine workers are employed in agricultural pursuits and domestic service—on farms and in homes—and that of the 24,555,754 women over 21 in America, 20,518,833 are, or have been married, and are obviously "making homes" for the 20,255,555 families who live in the 17,805,845 dwellings in the United States—how do you prove that "woman's work has gone out of the home and into store, factory and shop"?

6. Woman suffrage, you claim, will bring better labor conditions. Colorado has had woman suffrage 21 years. Why, then, is Colorado the only State in the Union that has called for Federal aid in suppressing anarchy and riot twice in ten years—in 1904 and 1914?

7. Woman suffrage will do away with child labor, you assert. Above-mentioned census report (pages 73, 442 and 512) show the same percentage of children from 10 to 13 at work in Colorado as in Pennsylvania. BUT in Colorado the highest number of such children work out as farm laborers, whereas in Pennsylvania the highest number are employed on the home farm. Nearly twice as many children work out on farms in Colorado as are employed by their own parents. In Pennsylvania the situation is so reversed that nearly three times as many children work for their own parents as for others. Does "votes for women" force more children to leave home and work for others?

8. Woman suffrage will bring "economic independence," you declare. How is economic independence to be secured without social revolution?

9. If votes will raise wages, as suffrage agitators promise women workers, why do men in the same industries depend on labor unions rather than on votes to get higher pay?

10. If woman suffrage will help the woman worker, explain the following testimony, after three years of suffrage in California, before the Federal Industrial Relations Commission at Los Angeles, September 10, 1914. Mrs. Katherine P. Edson, member of the California Industrial Welfare Commission, declared:

"No doubt a large part of our social trouble, such as the children in the street, is due to men working for an inadequate wage and women being forced to go out and work. It seems to me a hopeless situation. My opinion is that there are more women working outside their homes here than there should be. Some large dry-goods stores, I understand, are contemplating refusing to employ married women because of the numerous complaints from unmarried women workers."

Why does a woman call the condition of labor "hopeless" where women vote?

11. Various department stores in Philadelphia allow their

employees all day off Saturdays during the summer. Where have women secured Saturday holidays with "a piece of paper in a ballot box"?

12. Woman suffrage will rout rum, you allege. Then why has no State ever gone "dry" with "votes for women," although ELEVEN have done so by the moral influence of woman on the votes of MEN ONLY?

13. Where were the women voters of Colorado on November 5, 1912, when that State defeated prohibition by a majority of 40,897 votes; 116,774 ballots being cast for the saloons? As there are 213,425 women over 21 in Colorado (page 118, Census Abstract), it would have taken only 58 per cent. of them to make the State "dry" by a majority of 6,012 without a single male vote to help them. Does this not prove that most of the women who WILL vote are against the very temperance that all women desire and have secured under male suffrage?

14. Wyoming got woman suffrage in 1869. It has remained the forty-seventh commonwealth in the Union to this day, according to the census. If women seek "emancipation" why has the colonization of Wyoming been so sadly neglected for 45 years, and why are there only 100 women to every 168 men in that State, which is the second lowest proportionate feminine population in the United States? Why women avoid Wyoming wants explanation.

15. Suffragists say women should vote because they pay taxes. On this plea the foreign corporation or individual or non-resident who pays taxes should vote. The majority of women are not taxpayers, however, and their addition to the electorate would only increase the number of voters who do not pay taxes. Do Suffragists advocate further extension of irresponsibility?

16. Suffragists are indorsed by all the unstable elements in our population—the Socialists, the I. W. W. and the feminists. Do Suffragists in turn indorse Socialism, sabotage and communism? If not, why do they accept the support of Socialists and feminists, and run standing appeals for such support by officially advertising for it in revolutionary magazines given over to the defense of convicted rioters and the glorification of masculine and feminine rebellion? (See a copy of the *Masses*.) Note standing advertisement of National American Woman Suffrage Association.

17. If women are competent to vote on every question, why not allow them to vote on their own enfranchisement?

18. In view of the fact that woman suffrage proposes another duty to woman, an unnecessary duty inconsistent with her highest natural duties and functions, and furthermore, involves great risk and additional expense to the State, we have a right to ask what it can do to improve civic conditions, and where it has done so. If Suffragists cannot prove "votes for women" are worth while, how can they show any reason why woman suffrage should not be rejected?

19. An electorate, like a standing army, is a governmental instrument to carry out the will of the people. Its extension can only be advocated as a necessity or a service to the common good. Where and when have women proved their supreme moral influence as the mothers, wives, daughters, sisters and teachers of men as "inferior" to the ballots and bullets that men must sometimes use? What reason can Suffragists give for asking women to use the weapons of men in a vain attempt to exercise political power when the wishes of women and the wisdom of the centuries teach us to rely on the moral might that women wield in the church, the school and the home where our citizens are made and molded—by women?

(Signed) MRS. HORACE BROCK,

(Signed) MRS. J. GARDNER CASSATT,

Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

SOME AMENITIES OF A SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN

THE constant personal attacks to which anti-suffrage speakers and workers have been subjected mark a unique phase of American suffrage militancy.

Abuse, "mud-slinging," is an old weapon which most politicians of recent years have been above using.

It has remained for woman suffrage and Suffragists to sharpen the ancient weapon and use it in attacking speakers whose arguments they could not answer.

These tactics culminated in an attack in October upon Mrs. O. D. Oliphant of Trenton, N. J., in a newspaper of Missoula, Mont., in which State she was an active worker.

On the morning of the day on which Mrs. Oliphant was to speak the *Missoula* printed several verses head-lined, "To Mrs. O. D. Oliphant." In the same issue of the paper appeared an announcement of the meeting that evening at which Mrs. Oliphant was the scheduled speaker.

Mrs. Oliphant has brought suit against the Missoula Publishing Co. for \$50,000 for criminal libel because of this printed attack. The nature of it is revealed in the following editorial which was reprinted in the *Boston Transcript*.

(From the *Rochester Herald*)

"One feature of the movement which the women have undertaken in order to obtain the franchise that can hardly be regarded without regret, is the hostile attitude it has induced between those who favor and those who oppose the granting of the voting privilege. That the propaganda has been debasing in its influence we have had evidence in more than one direction. Its latest manifestation is seen in a suit for libel against a newspaper in Montana which published a poem attacking a woman who opposed suffrage. In the poem this woman was denounced as 'a traitor to all the race holds just and good,' a supporter of the whisky interests and a partner of procurers.

"That is carrying poetical license rather far, and the victim of the attack is desirous of ascertaining whether it is legitimate or not. With men alone in politics we have enough of vilification and the impugning of motives. A woman's reputation is something that has always been held rather dear among our people, and smirching it has been accompanied with considerable peril. If political activity is going to expose the sex to aspersions of this sort, the franchise will have been gained at considerable cost. It is not worth the price."

The President of the National Woman Suffrage Association is apparently hard pressed for arguments. She warned her North Dakota audience, not of the losses

entailed in the failure to grant suffrage to women, but told them that Mrs. Oliphant would soon be with them with her flossy white dress and her flossy white coat, having left behind in the corporation-ridden State of New Jersey four little children in boarding school. Mrs. Oliphant has no children, but mere matters of fact never deter the Rev. Dr. Shaw.

In Nebraska the suffrage leaders donated to Mrs. George "four small children neglected in her Massachusetts home," "two divorces" and "an income from the vice interests."

In Nebraska, again, the Anti-Suffragists left their booth at the fair grounds at luncheon time and returned to find half a dozen empty whiskey bottles in conspicuous places.

At a county fair in Nebraska Jane Thompson, college graduate, mounted an automobile, and while the horses raced around the track shouted for Votes for Women. "There are," said she, "two Anti-Suffragists on these grounds. There they are in that box," indicating the box where Mrs. Crumpacker and Miss Lucy Price were seated. "There they are, in that box, sent here by the vice interests."

In Cincinnati during the bill-board strike it was necessary to resort to a truck driven through the city to advertise an evening anti-suffrage meeting. The enemies of those who are protesting against woman suffrage attached to the signs on this truck the sign, "Vote for Home Rule," in that way attempting to cast discredit upon the campaign arguments of the Anti-Suffragists.

In Omaha, the President of the National Woman Suffrage Association gave to representatives of the press the following choice contributions to the purification of politics, which we quote from *The Omaha Bee* of November 1:

"Liar" and "big fool" were some of the epithets applied to nationally known women anti-suffrage workers who have spoken in Omaha, during the course of an authorized oral statement issued to representatives of three daily newspapers by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw yesterday.

The famous woman Suffragist's wrath was aroused to the point of calling her opponents names, when she undertook to reply to certain statements contained in a half-

page advertisement published in the newspapers Saturday by the Nebraska Men's Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Henry W. Yates, President of the Nebraska National Bank and a prominent citizen of Omaha for half a century, is treasurer and a leading member of the association.

Miss Majorie Dorman, Secretary of the Working Women's Society of Brooklyn, who has recently been active in the "anti" campaign in Omaha, was one of the particular objects of Dr. Shaw's criticism.

"Marjorie Dorman is a big fool," Dr. Shaw exclaimed. "There is no such thing as the Working Women's league of Brooklyn. This Dorman girl is the whole thing. Marjorie was a little scrub reporter in Brooklyn. She couldn't hold a regular job."

Directing her attention to other famous Anti-Suffragists who have talked in Omaha, Dr. Shaw continued:

"Miss Minnie Bronson is the most skilful liar I ever knew, except Mrs. A. J. George of Boston. Mrs. George doesn't even quote Scripture correctly.

"I am told that Mrs. George went into the Anti-Suffragist movement because she could get more salary and a better social position that way than by remaining a common school teacher."

An Omaha minister, Rev. Adolf Hult, pastor of the Swedish Immanuel Lutheran Church, also came in for a shot from Dr. Shaw. She referred to an article contributed to the Anti-Suffragist cause by the local pastor, which was published in *The Bee*.

"It was the most filthy thing I ever read," she declared.

Later on she said: "The presidents of Anti-Suffragist societies and the backers of those organizations are the wives of either the owners or the lawyers of great corporations, trusts and liquor interests."

May we ask in all humility of spirit, of the officials of the suffrage association, what we are to expect from the rank and file if leaders condescend to these methods long ago discredited by men ward politicians?

A stalwart policeman in a crowded street engineered the same Anti-Suffragist through the traffic. He saw her anti-suffrage pin, turned up his coat lapel and revealed a similar token. "I'm with you, lady, I've seen a parade," said he.

Two girls in a coat-room in a Western hotel wore anti-suffrage buttons. "We can't stand for the things those other women talk about," they declared.

HOW ANTI-SUFFRAGE RED CROSS WORK PROGRESSES

RED CROSS work continues to be a foremost branch of Anti-Suffrage activities. The whole State organization in North Dakota has turned entirely to relieving the suffering caused by the European war now that the election has put the suffrage question to one side.

* * *

Perhaps it is their facility with knitting needles that has put Anti-Suffragists in the front ranks in Red Cross work. Knitting is an old-fashioned virtue that is coming rapidly into its own again. A famous European physician recommends knitting as a cure for the prevalent nervousness of women. To our own knowledge, women irritable and excitable have become models of cheerfulness and poise through nothing more than the practise of simple, old-fashioned knitting.

* * *

The following suggestion is made by those whose special care at this time is the refugee women:

One thousand sewing-bags are needed for the destitute women for repairing the rags they have and for altering the clothes given them.

The bags should be about 6x8 inches, made of unbleached muslin or any other material, and containing:

- 1 thimble
- 1 pair scissors
- a few pins
- 1 paper assorted needles
- 1 darning needle
- 1 spool white cotton, No. 50
- 1 spool black cotton, No. 50
- darning cotton, black or white
- 1 dozen assorted buttons

Will you aid us by making one, or as many as possible? Ask your friends to help and send by parcel post to this office, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

Printed instructions for knitting the garments most needed will be mailed from here upon request.

The Massachusetts Association took a room with a large window in the building with the Association offices. The center window has a sign announcing the Public Interests League, and the rooms are decorated with anti-suffrage flags. When the war broke out it was suggested that these rooms be used to work for the Red Cross, as they had been for the Salem Fire. This Red Cross work is being done in branches throughout the State. The office sends them only patterns and instructions. Mrs. Balch, of the Public Interests League, has

been regularly appointed by Miss Boardman to organize for the Red Cross work in Massachusetts. There has been a perpetual stream of people and many of them ask to take literature away with them. Many donations for the Red Cross work have been sent from shops.

The garments are packed in dozen lots in boxes, which, in turn, are packed in cases ready for shipping. Each box is marked with the size of the garments it contains, and each case has the place of its destination marked in three languages. The boxes are furnished free of charge.

The Delaware Association has raised over \$2,200 for the Relief Fund of the Red Cross. Personal contributions have been made, the collection boxes have been used and a ball was given at the DuPont Hotel.

The Elizabeth branch of the New Jersey Association is giving out garments to be made by the unemployed women of that town for the Red Cross, thus aiding two worthy causes at the same time.

The Westfield branch gave a very successful card party, and realized \$184.00 for the Red Cross Fund.

At the headquarters at Trenton a sewing machine has been installed and nightshirts and bandages are being made.

A part of the proceeds from the plays given in Trenton November 10th will be forwarded to the Red Cross.

Fifty boxes for contributions have been taken by members of the Virginia Association, although many of them have already contributed generously to the Relief Fund.

Mrs. A. T. Dudley, President of New Hampshire Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has received the following letter in reply to her own offering the services of the organization to "arouse public interest and gather contributions":

Dear Mrs. Dudley:

Your kind letter is just at hand and The Red Cross will heartily welcome any work in the raising of money or the making of garments that your society is willing to undertake.

Thanking you very much, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,
GEO. B. LEIGHTON,
Vice-Chairman.

Concord, Manchester and Exeter are holding weekly sewing meetings with the result that much work is being accomplished. Derry has already sent \$10.75 and promises work. Bristol and other branches are also at work.

The Minneapolis Association has placed five hundred boxes in stores, theater lobbies and hotels for Red Cross contributions. An entertainment was given by the young people of the town under the direction of the Association and the Pennington garage, which, when transformed into a theater, provided seats for two hundred and fifty persons, was filled. Songs, dances, a playlet or two and a dramatic monologue made up the clever vaudeville bill. A good sum was realized for the Relief Fund.

The Rochester Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage will hold no mass meetings to counteract the effect of those of the Suffragists during their convention in that city. The Anti-Suffragists say they believe that by assisting the International Red Cross they will do their best work at this time in opposition to suffrage.

"We have planned and organized an active propaganda for this month in Rochester and Western New York," said Mrs. Henry F. Burton, vice-president of the Rochester Association, "and had even selected our speakers for a counter mass meeting to the ones being offered by the Suffragists this week; but when the European war broke out in such fury we felt that we could best demonstrate our belief in the truer vocation of Christian women by turning our time and our money toward this relief of the sick and the wounded. Our Red Cross activities here are in full progress and we are receiving donations every day.

"I dare say we shall be accused of cowardice in not making some counter demonstration this week, but the reluctance of leading women in the suffrage ranks to assist in the Red Cross and other relief works has thrown an added share upon us and we are doing our cheerful best to sustain both sides. We are accused of 'medieval sentimentalism' for this, but I do not think our motives are questioned by any but the Suffragists, and at present we are not worrying about them."

Without in any way seeking to disparage the woman suffrage movement, whose leaders now seek to raise \$150,000 for the campaign in 1915, it might not be out of reason to suggest that there are thousands of laboring men out of employment whose wives and children might be greatly benefited by the judicious expenditure of that \$150,000 in charity. Some of these people need bread more than the wives of more well-to-do husbands need the ballot.—Buffalo (N. Y.), *Commercial*, October 16, 1914.

WORK THE STATES ARE DOING TO EDUCATE THE VOTERS

CONNECTICUT

THE opposition to woman suffrage in this State is steadily increasing, as is indicated by the growth of membership in the various branches of the Association. There is a willingness to come out in the open and declare opinions, which has heretofore been lacking in many localities, either because of indifference or "never having given the matter much thought."

The State fairs have helped us plant our seed and we are continually seeing most satisfactory results.

At the Guilford Fair there was an anti-suffrage booth where roses and banners were sold, literature distributed and our enrollment increased by many signatures. At the Danbury Fair representatives of the Association distributed literature and had opportunity to call attention to the Association in several new directions.

In Hartford a benefit for the Association was given in the form of a large bridge party, which netted a goodly sum.

DELAWARE

THE first open meeting of the Delaware Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held in the ballroom of the DuPont Hotel in Wilmington on October 20th. The large room was full and the audience a most receptive and gratifying one.

The speakers were Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin and Miss McIlvaine of New Jersey, and two Wilmington women, Mrs. H. B. Thompson, President of the Association, and Miss Emily Bissell, Corresponding Secretary.

NEBRASKA

NEBRASKA voted on Woman Suffrage in 1882 and defeated it.

For six weeks before the suffrage amendment was voted on in Nebraska the Nebraska Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage conducted an active campaign. An office was opened on the main thoroughfare of Omaha on the ground floor of the City National Bank Building, where large and striking signs, which could be read from across the street, attracted the eye of the passersby. Most conspicuous of these were "Votes for Men" and "Homes for Women."

To Mrs. J. W. Crumpacker is due, in a large measure, the Nebraska victory. It was she who organized the women of the State after the big Omaha meeting, at which Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge and Miss Minnie Bemson spoke, and she also who

interested so many of the ablest jurists and leading men of the State to form the Men's League. The campaign was largely financed by the Men's League. Under the laws of Nebraska a sworn statement of campaign expenditures must be filed. Less than \$3,000 was spent to defeat woman suffrage in Nebraska, about one-sixth of the sum expended by the Suffragists.

Miss Marjorie Dorman spent six weeks in the State previous to election. Mrs. A. J. George spoke three times and Miss Lucy Price's services were secured for two weeks from Ohio. With Mrs. Crumpacker, these were the only speakers in Nebraska during the six weeks previous to election. It is because of the strenuous efforts put forth by the Suffragists touring the State with twenty speakers, including Roosevelt and Bryan, that the Nebraska victory shows all the more encouraging. Bryan devoted about ten minutes to suffrage in each of his many speeches, despite the fact that the Democratic party in Nebraska had refused to endorse it.

The Men's League Opposed to Woman Suffrage took half pages in the press for a discussion of jury service for women, the Suffragists doing their best to dodge the issue.

One of the most amusing events of the campaign was the attitude taken by the Suffragists in regard to debates, the Suffragists issuing a statement that the question was no longer a debatable one.

The Sunday before election pamphlets misquoting the heads of the church were handed out by young Suffragists at the doors of the leading Catholic churches. Bishop Scannell, head of the Roman Catholic Church in Nebraska, issued a newspaper statement immediately declaring that there were better avenues for woman's activities than politics.

A Wage Earners' League of more than 500 members has been formed in Nebraska and the work in opposition to woman suffrage will continue. The Suffragists, after being organized for thirty years in the state, had 1112 members in July 26th last, according to an article written by a Suffragist for the *World-Herald*. The Anti's at the same date, after only a few months' activity, had over 1400 members. Altogether, the outlook in Nebraska is most encouraging.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE fall meeting of the State Board was held in Concord and matters of importance discussed. Plans were made with the view towards efficient work during the session of legislature to be convened in January.

Newport reports that its branch has just given \$25 towards a medical inspector for their schools.

NEW JERSEY

AT the October State Board meeting of the New Jersey Association, held on Tuesday, the 13th, Mrs. Alexander F. Jamison was elected president to fill the place of Mrs. Edward Yarde Breese, resigned.

During the month of September large meetings were held at Spring Lake and Freehold, at which Miss Carolyn Holmes, President of the Guidon Club of New York, was the speaker.

Colonel William J. Libbey, of Princeton, as State Chairman, will continue in this position in the Men's League. Increased interest and membership is reported. Miss Reina A. Lawrence has developed the press work in the State so that many newspapers are using her copy regularly and in its entirety. Letters have been sent to 151 clubs belonging to the New Jersey State Federation of Woman's Clubs protesting against the woman suffrage resolution adopted at the Biennial Convention of the General Federation in Chicago.

Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin spoke at a meeting of the Westfield branch and also at the hearings before the Democratic and Republican conventions September 29th. Neither party endorsed woman suffrage.

The State Association had a tent at the Inter-State Fair for five days, during which many thousands of pieces of literature were distributed, buttons put in circulation and signatures obtained.

Arrangements are completed for the production of an original operetta, "The Flying Dutchwoman," by Miss Janet Williams, of New York, and an original play dealing with the suffrage question by Mrs. Thomas B. Holmes, of Trenton. Both attractions will be presented at the Trenton Theater on the evening of November 10th.

NEW YORK

THE attendance at meetings and the rapidly increasing membership indicate that the women of New York State are taking a serious interest in the opposition to woman suffrage and do not intend to have it forced upon them.

One of the largest and most enthusiastic of many meetings during the month of October was that of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce. Mrs. Frank J. Goodwin spoke at their luncheon and following her address was asked many questions. Another large meeting was one held at Millbrook in the high school hall. Mrs. Goodwin and Miss Chittenden spoke. There was an interested and appreciative audience made up of people from nearby

places—many going over from Poughkeepsie. The meetings held at the office for members and their friends have been well attended and the work planned for the winter and early spring is well under way.

The Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League have arranged to have a series of entertainments and meetings during the next six months along the same lines as those which proved so successful last year.

The Brooklyn Auxiliary opened an office at 320 Livingston street in October, and has already proved the need of headquarters from which literature can be obtained.

OHIO

THE statement that the Anti-Suffragists are allied with the liquor interests in Ohio is not only false but stupid, since the majority against suffrage of 120,000 more than the "home rule" (a 300 per cent. majority) should divorce the matter absolutely to any sane mind.

The overwhelming majority of 160,000 by which the suffrage amendment was defeated indicated that the same judgment of the men of Ohio is not to be overturned by the importunities of the more than 300,000 agitated Suffragists whom their leaders claimed were working for the cause. The *Dayton Daily News* of November 2 carried the following paid advertisement:

"Three hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty-five organized women and 50 per cent. of the farm women of the State are on record for woman suffrage; 2,724 women volunteers secured signatures for the suffrage petition. Less than one dozen women are campaigning against it."

It either speaks exceedingly well for the determination of the men of the State of Ohio to protect their women against the vicissitudes of political warfare, or it has proven that the "twelve women" put up a very good fight with the odds against them of 25,000 to 1.

PENNSYLVANIA

THE Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage held its first meeting for the winter on Tuesday, October 27th.

During the summer weekly meetings have been held and the work carried on by the Executive and Organizing Committees, Philadelphia taking care of the county fairs in the eastern part of the State, with Pittsburgh looking after the western part.

We find the antagonism to woman suffrage very much stronger this year than it was last among the country people. Last year they were largely indifferent, although mildly opposed.

During September Miss Emily Bissell

spoke before the Woman's Club of Columbia, Lancaster County, which is a stronghold of the W. C. T. U., and found the sentiment there very favorable to the opposition, at least, in the Club. Miss Pitt spoke at the West Caln Grange near Coatesville and brought back from there an encouraging report.

During September and October we gave out hundreds of packages of literature for debates and to people wishing to know our side of the question.

A complete report of the recent convention of the federation in Pittsburgh was made by Mrs. Brock, who was the first president of the State federation and one of the pioneers in the work of women's clubs. Mrs. Brock stated that no indorsement of suffrage was made by the federation at the convention, and that the individual approval of the delegates there given was illegal and did not represent the sentiment of the various clubs nor their members who go to make up the federation.

SOUTH DAKOTA

ORGANIZATION in South Dakota was not undertaken until woman suffrage was an issue. While much active work is not attempted, a movement was set on foot to bring some of the best speakers of the National Association into the State for a "whirlwind campaign" just before election.

The very fact of the auxiliary being formed brought to the attention of its officers the names of a great many splendid women over the State who were in sympathy with the cause of opposition to woman suffrage and were willing to work for it. Among them are the wife of the Episcopal Bishop of South Dakota and the wife of the Presbyterian minister at Sioux Falls. Aberdeen has the wife of the Congregational minister and the wives of some prominent attorneys; Watertown, a leader of the Christian Science Church in the State; Rapid City, a member of the State educational committee of associated school boards, a prominent banker's wife and the wife of a leading attorney; Ipswich, the deputy register of deeds; Vermillion, two women connected with the State university; while Pierre, where the Suffragists have centered their efforts in attacks on the legislature every session for years, a group of women, of whom any State might be proud, helped materially to save the State.

While the noise and the claims of the Suffragists was very great, we found that the host of silent men and women who care nothing for votes for women counted effectively for our side on November 3.

The officers of the North Dakota Auxiliary are: President, Mrs. C. M. Hollister; Vice-President, Mrs. J. L. Lockhart; Secretary, Mrs. E. Jacobsen; Treasurer, Mrs. S. S. Ruble; all of Pierre.

Suffragists Again Assail Prominent Public Man

THAT Suffragists sacrifice courtesy and self-respect to gain notoriety is no new thing. A striking case of such disregard of themselves and their obligations to others was shown by a delegation of Suffragists who called recently on Mayor Blankenburg of Philadelphia.

We quote an extract from a statement on the subject issued by Mrs. Geo. P. White printed in *The Bulletin* on November 7th:

"Mayor Blankenburg is the fourth prominent public official to be insulted by representative Suffragists after extending them every possible courtesy. President Taft was hissed by Suffragists several years ago after a public address as their guest, the first time in history that a President of the United States had been so insulted. The Suffragists refused to shake hands and 'turned up their noses,' by all reports, at their interview with President Wilson last spring and, according to his own word, subjected him to an undignified cross-examination and 'demanded action.' On May 2d Mayor Mitchell of New York was insulted and ridiculed and characterized in a speech as 'poor boy' at a suffrage meeting where he was an invited guest, because he would not approve of feminism.

"And now Mayor Blankenburg, a man whose administration has gained the respect and admiration of every man and woman in Pennsylvania for its high ideals of public service, is attacked in his own reception room by a bevy of Suffragists, who level at him the charge of playing party politics and withholding money from the hungry and the unemployed.

"Mayor Blankenburg calls the attack 'offensive and insulting' and says that the Suffragists have hurt their cause. The whole thing was 'a grand-stand play' to attract the attention of the big labor convention to meet here next week, and Mayor Blankenburg and the City Councils were made the victims and insulted with no other object than to get notoriety for the cause of woman suffrage."

VIRGINIA

THE first meeting of the Executive Committee for the discussion of winter plans was held on October 20th. Reports were read of the meeting at the University Summer School in Charlottesville, where Miss Emily Bissell spoke, and the Chautauqua Lectures, which took Miss Marjorie Dorman into the State.

The Association has increased in membership during the summer months and new branches in Staunton and Ashland are being organized.

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE LIQUOR INTERESTS

IN the October issue of the *Woman's Voice*, official organ of the Montana W. C. T. U., we find this statement by the president of the Association:

"Our W. C. T. U. had no division in the suffrage parade during fair week. Our committee was arranging for float, banners, etc., according to invitation given, when our chairman was informed that some Suffragists thought it better not to have the W. C. T. U. in the parade as a body. It is laughable to have the Suffragists so considerate of the views of the liquor men that they fear to antagonize them by allowing a temperance banner in their parade. But such is their policy. So the oldest suffrage organization in the State—the Woman's Christian Temperance Union—(1883-1914), which is proud of its white ribbons, was not represented in the parade, though many individual members marched in with the county organizations.

"But the quiet work counts more than the 'Hurrah.' Women will be given the ballot on November 3 in Montana and the important thing is to prepare ourselves for the citizenship which is coming to us, so that we may meet the high expectation of the men in Montana, who believe that their women will bring into the electorate an element which will be above political trickery and which will work for human interests and create a more moral atmosphere in our community life.

"It is the fear or belief that women will not bring this moral element into the electorate—that some women may become political tricksters—that caused the Anti-Suffragists to organize in Butte. These 'Antis' include some of the finest and most honored women in Montana, who have been and are to-day prominent in working for the best interests of the community. Of course we don't agree with them on the suffrage question, but we appreciate their worth and understand their position.

"Some Suffragists can talk, some can parade, some can 'hike,' some can write, and others can live so sensibly and sanely and beautifully that every man who knows them feels that it would help the affairs of the community to have their voice heard. And this womanly living is what counts most after all—for, however much the Suffragist may hedge, it is not the liquor men, but the men who believe that the women will help to vote the saloons out of the State, who will give her the ballot."

IN an interview after the election, Mrs. Horace Brock, of Philadelphia, said:

"Mrs. Medill McCormick's admission that

the 'corporate interests' were against suffrage because it was among radical movements, and that 'capital' defeated suffrage in Ohio merely goes to show that the socialistic tendencies of woman suffrage have excited the opposition of the sober business interests of the country.

"The old excuse that suffrage was defeated in Ohio because a liquor question was voted on at the same time will not hold water, because in Missouri, where the estimates say that the State went against suffrage by over 100,000, no liquor issue was involved whatever. If, as alleged, Arizona and Colorado have gone dry, they are the first States ever to have done so after having woman suffrage, and the defeat of prohibition in the suffrage States of California and possibly in Oregon and Washington must still be explained by the Suffragists.

"But all these side issues are mere excuses. Does anyone believe that all those men who went to the polls and decisively downed woman suffrage in six States voted on the question without the advice of their feminine relatives? There is not a man in America who has not a mother, wife, sister, daughter or sweetheart to consult with on this issue. The results show just what effect such consultation had on the votes. The public will be convinced now more than ever that the small band of professional advocates of woman suffrage do not represent any respectable fraction of the women of our country, who fully realize that they are more free when exempt from political duties, and that such duties would be a burden to themselves and a menace to good government.

"The right of women to remain out of politics has been overwhelmingly indorsed by the voters of six States. As for Montana, it was thought when the same sort of labor riots broke out there a few months ago as have disgraced Colorado, that the socialistic tendencies might lead to an adoption of woman suffrage as an ally of radicalism."

(An editorial from the *New York Evening Post*, November 5, 1914)

THE progress of prohibition is slightly steadier than that of woman suffrage; four States apparently went "dry" on Tuesday to either two or three for the Suffragists, and the total is fourteen, as compared with twelve or thirteen equal-suffrage States. With the movement passing in intensity from the South to the Far West, the absence of a race motive in total prohibition makes it probable that in each of the newly added States the laws will

involve a struggle between rural and urban population. In Colorado, Denver; in Washington, Seattle and Tacoma; in Oregon, Portland, and in Arizona, Tucson have voted decisively, but to all appearances un-availingly, against prohibition. The population outside cities of 2500 heavily outnumbered that within in Arizona (140,000 to 60,000) and in Oregon (365,000 to 307,000); while in Washington (540,000 to 600,000) and Colorado (395,000 to 405,000) the two classes are fairly evenly divided. In States like California and Ohio, each with about 500,000 excess of urban population, prohibition stands little chance. The task of enforcing prohibition in Seattle, with 250,000 people, must be more difficult than in Kansas, where there is no city over 100,000; but there is every reason to believe that public sentiment in even the largest Western cities will uphold the law once it is the law.

Grim Silence Answers Suffragist Appeal

A man in the crowd at a recent suffrage rally in Philadelphia was asked to explain why he opposed "votes for women." "Because I don't know one woman in ten who wants a vote," he replied, "and you cannot show me where woman suffrage has ever made good, or accomplished anything for either women or the State that has not been more easily secured without a 'piece of paper in the ballot box' from women." The crowd gave him a cheer, but several minutes afterwards, when the great "whirlwind" suffrage campaign ended, and the auto-busses and automobiles carrying suffrage orators pulled away from the City Hall Plaza in Philadelphia, grim silence greeted every appeal for applause. "Won't you cheer us, boys?" begged several pleasant suffrage orators from the top of the bus as it drew away, but there was no response, though it is doubtful that men would refuse to cheer a number of women representing any other movement. Afterwards the men gathered in groups and argued the question themselves, and the defense of suffrage devolved on a single individual who confessed that he was a Socialist and got nothing but ridicule from the crowd as each of his memorized suffrage slogans was riddled by facts and figures other men brought against him. Thus the "whirlwind week" of suffrage campaigning only served to demonstrate more strongly than ever that the "cause" of votes for women is weak, and growing weaker the more people learn about it.

NOTES AND COMMENT

In Dayton, Ohio, a negro woman saw a friend in the parade. "What's Mis' Johnson doin' there?" she queried. "Her man is good to her."

Mrs. Eva Morley Murphy ran for Congress in Kansas. She is the only woman seeking that office in the United States and came in third in the returns.

At the annual convention of the Vermont State Suffrage Association at Burlington, E. P. Jose of Johnson, Progressive leader in the House in 1912, told the Suffragists that they were farther from the ballot today than ten years ago.—*Boston Transcript*.

The Woman's Journal headlines of October 3d read: "Ohio will unlock the East. Success means landslide in 1915, including New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and others."

It appears now that the East will not be unlocked and the landslide has come in 1914, against suffrage.

In one dressmaking establishment in Chicago just one believer in woman suffrage was found among sixty women. In an Eastern telephone exchange thirty-eight out of forty girls are members of the organization opposed to woman suffrage, and when a crisis on woman suffrage was imminent one of these girls, a devout Catholic, spent the afternoon in church in prayer for the success of the Anti-Suffragists.

In the pretty complete rout and havoc of the Suffragists in the Western States, they have two small victories to celebrate at the big meetings they have planned for the celebration of seven victories in seven States. The National Woman Suffrage Association has worked hard to secure the re-election of Senator Smoot, the Mormon Representative from Utah, and has succeeded. The Mormon Church has always stood for suffrage and has been in large part responsible for the spread of suffrage in the West. Nevada and Montana have many Mormons among their population. Another victory which the Suffragists can celebrate is the big defeat of prohibition in California.—*The Woman Citizen*.

Helen K. Williams, late a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of California, has been engaged in a most vigorous campaign against prohibition of the liquor traffic and against the Anti-Saloon League. In its list of associate editors are the names of more than a score of active and prominent Suffragists. They must be rejoicing at

their success in defeating prohibition two to one.

The headline of the first page of the *Kansas City Post* of October 21, 1914, was as follows:

"I'd rather be free and be damned than be a slave and be coddled and laden with jewels."—Dr. Anna Howard Shaw.

A. A. Turner, 74 years old, was discharged when arraigned on a charge of disorderly conduct before Municipal Judge Graham yesterday. He was arrested on Tuesday on the complaint of Mrs. L. A. Boone, Lake Park Avenue, a clerk of election in the Thirty-second precinct of the Third Ward.

"Your Honor," said Turner, "the whole trouble is due to registration day, when I went to the place to register. She asked me how long I had lived at my address and I replied thirty years."

"She then asked me where I had voted last and I replied. 'Where do you think after living in a precinct for thirty years?'"

A Swedish girl in Chicago hotel was asked, "Do you vote?" "Oh, no!" she replied, "I'm too busy to mix in politics, but lots of women do, because you see they have no home life and politics gives them a chance to get out and dispute. Yes, I am a Swede, and a lady told me I ought to read a book by my country woman Ellen Key. And I did. I suppose it's because I'm not educated enough, but, do you know? I honestly could not see but that her teachings made it harder for us women and easier for men who do really hate responsibility." Later conversation in which the woman gave discriminating criticisms of Brahms and Grieg and Strauss showed that this young woman had more than the usual equipment of our "educated" woman.

AN article on another page of this issue makes the following letter very pertinent:

To the Editor of the *Evening Sun*.—Sir: Permit me to thank you for your most excellent editorial of Saturday, October 10, upon the defence of the City of Antwerp. May I, from the conclusions which you have drawn, draw others, which seem to me as obvious as your own?

You say " * * * Thanks to Belgium, the world is now able to see two things clearly. First, that the necessity to defend the things which all men hold dearest is as modern as the latest invention of the

current year. Second, That, while the conditions of war have changed, * * * the spirit of man himself remains unchanged, still unconquerable, still willing to dare all that those things he holds dear may survive, even though he must perish."

These statements are profoundly true. Do they not show the fallacy upon which the suffrage agitation is based? While the necessity still exists to defend all that is dear, and while men are still willing to die to do so—is it not obviously dangerous to admit a large number of persons, who are necessarily unable to enforce their will, to a share in the government? The question is not only of our foreign relations, but of our affairs at home as well. Government, to be efficient and respected, must be strong; to be strong it must rest upon the will of the majority of the population who can bear arms to defend it.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that which is, at least, doubtful; that the female vote would be of benefit to the community; even so, the wishes of the women could, and would not be enforced unless they were also the wishes of the majority of the men. As it would always be impossible to tell just what proportion of the voters upon a given question would be able to enforce their wishes, an element of uncertainty would be introduced into every election and this, sooner or later, would result in a trial of strength. In our own Civil War, even without the added confusion of the female vote, the feeling of the majority of the fighting force of the country was not apparent before the war, because of the multiplicity of parties and Presidential candidates in the election preceding it. If an election does not show where the fighting force lies it is useless for the very reason that "the spirit of man himself remains unconquerable, willing to dare all, that the thing he holds dear may survive, even though he perish."

The growth of disregard for law and the inevitable danger of civil war and anarchy is too high a price to pay for any fancied "betterment of women." We must deal with conditions as they are; not as they might be. These are certain forces which cannot be disregarded; to combat them is ruin; to at all approximate justice we must effect a compromise. If this terrible war in Europe teaches us nothing else, let us hope that it will bring home to us all a realization that the age of force is not past (as the Suffragists confidently asserted); and let it, by a forcible object lesson, prevent us from turing the civilization of America back toward disorder and anarchy at the sentimental demand of a few short-sighted agitators.—A College Woman. New York, October 14.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

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Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*
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27 William Street Room 1823 New York City
Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913
Everett P. Wheeler
Questionnaire
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound
Prof. William I. Sedgwick

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

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